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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 080904

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR RO

SUBJECT: ROMANIA-USSR IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

SUMMARY: RECENT SPEECHES AND ARTICLES IN VARIOUS EAST
EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND REACTION BY ROMANIA INDICATE A
SUDDEN HARDENING IN ROMANIAN-SOVIET RELATIONS IN THE
IDEOLOGICAL AREA. THESE DIFFICULTIES STARTED AFTER
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THE PRAGUE IDEOLOGICAL MEETING OF CC PARTY SECRETARIES.

1. APRIL 7 EDITION OF BALTIMORE SUN CARRIES A MOSCOW DATELINED ARTICLE BY MICHAEL PARKS WHICH STATES THAT ACCORDING TO EAST EUROPEAN SOURCES, ROMANIA IS FIGHTING MOSCOW'S ATTEMPTS "TO LAY DOWN NEW RULES FOR IDEOLOGICAL CONDUCT OF SOVIET BLOC." PARKS SAYS THAT ROMANIA HAS "WITHDRAWN FROM ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING A CONGRESS OF ALL EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES" BECAUSE OF SERIOUS DIFFERENCES WITH OTHER WARSAW PACT MEMBERS "OVER THE SOVIET ROLE AND MOSCOW'S LEADERSHIP OF THE EAST EUROPEAN PARTIES." PARKS REFERS IN THIS CONTEXT TO RCP SECRETARY ANDREI'S TRIPS TO PRAGUE AND MOSCOW (PRIOR TO THE PRAGUE IDEOLOGICAL MEETING) AND HIS FAILURE TO REACH A COMPROMISE. PARKS REPORTS THAT MOSCOW "WANTS WARSAW PACT NATIONS TO PRESENT A UNITED FRONT AT BOTH THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES CONGRESS AND THE EXPECTED SUMMIT MEETING CONCLUDING CSCE". BUCHAREST, HE STATES OBJECTS TO THIS SINCE IT "WOULD AMOUNT TO MOSCOW

DICTATING EACH COUNTRY'S FOREIGN POLICY AND IDEOLOGICAL OUTLOOK". THE REMAINDER OF PARKS' ARTICLE DEALS WITH ROMANIA'S UNHAPPINESS CONCERNING SOVIET OIL AND RAW MATERIALS PRICE INCREASES.

2. INR HAS NOTICED DURING THE LAST MONTH, FOLLOWING THE PRAGUE CC SECRETARIES IDEOLOGICAL MEETING, A NUMBER OF SPEECHES AND ARTICLES FROM VARIOUS EAST EUROPEAN SOURCES WHICH SEEM TO BE A DIRECT ATTACK ON ROMANIA'S UNWILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT ANY IDEOLOGICAL DIRECTION FROM MOSCOW.

3. ON MARCH 20 HUNGARIAN POLITBURO MEMBER DEZSO NEMES SPEAKING AT THE HUNGARIAN PARTY CONGRESS APPEARED TO ATTACK ROMANIA WHEN STATING THAT "IF A POLICY OF WITHDRAWING FROM THE CPSU OR THE SOVIET UNION OR EITHER OPEN OR CONCEALED ANTI-SOVIETISM GAINS GROUND IN THE LEADERSHIP OF A WORKERS' PARTY OR IN THE GOVERNMENT OF A SOCIALIST COUNTRY, IT CAN EASILY BECOME THE PUPPET OF VARIOUS ANTI-SOVIET FORCES AND IMPERIALIST MANEUVERS". SUBSEQUENT NEMES ARTICLE PUBLISHED BY IZVESTIA ON APRIL
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1 REPEATED THE SAME THEME AND ADDED THAT INTERNATIONAL IMPERIALISM IS CONCENTRATING ITS FORCES ON THE TACTIC OF "LOOSENING-UP" THE COHESION OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES BY USING ANTI-SOVIETISM AS ONE OF THEIR MAIN PROPAGANDA MEANS.

4. ON MARCH 26 POLAND'S TRIBUNA LUDU IN A LONG EDITORIAL ARTICLE REVIEWED THE RESULTS OF THE PRAGUE CONFERENCE.

THE ARTICLE, REMINISCENT OF DESCRIPTIONS OF THE DEFUNCT COMINFORM, STATED THAT "EXTENSIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE FRATERNAL PARTIES IN THE AREA OF IDEOLOGY AND PROPAGANDA IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE OPPONENTS OF INTERNATIONAL DETENTE." IT ADDED THAT "THE MOST IMPORTANT TRUTHS AND LESSONS OF OUR SOCIALIST 20TH CENTURY INCLUDE A PROFOUND IDENTIFICATION OF PATRIOTISM WITH INTERNATIONALISM AND THE IDENTITY OF OUR CLASS AND NATIONAL INTERESTS WITH THE INDESTRUCTIBLE ALLIANCE, FRATERNAL FRIENDSHIP AND MUTUAL COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION".

5. WITH RESPECT TO THE PRAGUE MEETING THE EDITORIAL CLAIMS THAT "THE COORDINATION OF ACTIVITIES OF FRATERNAL PARTIES IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ALONG THESE FUNDAMENTAL LINES HAS BEEN GREATLY INTENSIFIED. RESULTS ARE CONSIDERABLE AND VERY IMPORTANT FOR OUR COMMON CAUSE. THIS IS PRECISELY THE EVALUATION OF THE CC SECRETARIES OF THE INDIVIDUAL PARTIES WHO SPOKE AT THE PRAGUE

CONFERENCE". ROMANIA WAS NOT REPRESENTED BY A SECRETARY AT PRAGUE, ADMITTEDLY IN ORDER TO DISASSOCIATE ITSELF FROM SUCH IMPLICATIONS (BUCHAREST 1034).

6. ROMANIA'S RECENT EFFORTS TO AVOID INVOLVEMENT IN SOVIET BLOC ACTIONS INCLUDE CEAUSESCU'S ABSENCE FROM THE HUNGARIAN PARTY CONGRESS WHERE ALL OTHER PARTY CHIEFS WERE PRESENT AND HELD A MEETING WHICH, AMONG OTHER THINGS, DISCUSSED CURRENT PROBLEMS OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, REPORTEDLY WITH "COMPLETE UNANIMITY" ON ALL QUESTIONS. SIMILARLY, LATE IN MARCH, THE ROMANIANS WERE AGSENT FROM THE SOFIA CONFERENCE OF HISTORIANS AND SOCIAL SCIENTISTS WHICH DISCUSSED AND CONFIDENTIAL

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ASSIGNED RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THE PREPARATION OF STUDIES "ON PROBLEMS OF SOCIALIST INTEGRATION AS A PRINCIPLE IN INTERSTATE RELATIONS OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES".

7. CEAUSESCU'S SPEECH OF MARCH 28 (BUCHAREST 1413) APPEARS TO BE A REPLY TO THE PROLIFERATING SOVIET BLOC CRITICISM. CEAUSESCU POINTED OUT THAT "SOME PEOPLE... UNDERAPPRECIATE THE ROLE OF THE NATION AND EQUATE CONCERN WITH ITS DEVELOPMENT...WITH NATIONALISM, LABELING THIS SO-CALLED NATIONALISM ANTI-COMMUNISM...." HE WENT ON TO EMPHASIZE THAT "FULL EQUALITY OF RIGHTS AMONG NATIONS AND AMONG ALL THE PEOPLES IS THE GUARANTEE OF SUCCESS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR A NEW ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ORDER, FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS, FOR THE VICTORY OF

SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM IN THE WORLD". HIS REFERENCE TO THE FACT THAT MARXISM-LENINISM "IS NOT A DOGMA ESTABLISHED ONCE AND FOR ALL...BUT ONE THAT RENEWS ITSELF AND IS CONTINUOUSLY DEVELOPING IN STEP WITH SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS AND WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES TAKING PLACE IN THE WORLD" AS WELL AS HIS ATTACK ON DISTORTED INTERPRETATIONS OF HISTORICAL REALITIES SEEMS TO DEFEND BUCHAREST'S UNWILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN ANY IDEOLOGICAL COORDINATION.

8. AS FAR AS ROMANIA IS CONCERNED, THE IDEOLOGICAL MEETING IN PRAGUE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN SOMETHING OF A WATERSHED: FORCING ROMANIA TO DIG IN HER HEELS AFTER A PERIOD OF IMPROVED ROMANO-SOVIET RELATIONS STARTING LATE LAST YEAR. DEPARTMENT WOULD APPRECIATE ADDRESSEES' COMMENTS. KISSINGER

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